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THOMAS MANN COLLECTIONS

KLAUS W. JONAS
University of Pittsburgh

Ever since the passing of Thomas Mann in August 1955, scholars all over the world have asked again and again about the author's literary remains and the existence of representative manuscript collections and bibliographical centers in which to pursue their studies. Thus far, however, little or no information on their whereabouts has been available, and the present survey is intended to provide some concrete answers about these repositories of Thomas Mann documents. It is based on research in the largest American collection of this kind, in the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale, visits to other archives in this country, and an extensive study of the major European collections, chiefly in Zürich, Switzerland.

Until the spring of 1933, the major collection was undoubtedly that in the author's own home. In addition to all first and special editions, it included a vast amount of critical and biographical writings, published as well as unpublished, supplemented by Mann's personal library, which contained most of his source materials. By far the most valuable part, however, was his collection of holograph manuscripts of practically everything Thomas Mann had published up to that year: there were the manuscripts of his first published story, "Gefallen," which appeared in 1894 in a literary journal, *Die Gesellschaft*; his early short stories and novelettes such as *Der kleine Herr Friedemann*, *Tristan*, and *Tonio Kröger*; the statement of his principles of artistic procedure, which was published in 1906 under the title *Bilse und ich*; the three-act prose drama *Fiorenza*, which appeared in the same year; the three novels, *Buddenbrooks*, *Königliche Hoheit*, and *Der Zauberberg*; the first chapters of Book One of *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull* as well as *Der Tod in Venedig*; the war-time essays, *Friedrich und die große Koalition* and *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*; the two idylls *Herr und Hund* and *Gesang vom Kindchen*; the various essays collected later on and published under the titles *Rede und Antwort*, *Bemühungen*, and *Die Forderung des Tages*; several autobiographical accounts such as *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*, *Pariser Rechenschaft*, and *A Sketch of my Life*; the two novelettes *Unordnung und frühes Leid* and *Mario und der Zau-*

berer; and finally there were the first two volumes of his Biblical novels, the Joseph story. Except for the second of these last, which was not to appear in print until 1934, all of these had been published, although in some instances in editions which were marred by a great many inaccuracies and typographical errors.

Even more important were the manuscripts of the author's letters, especially those to his wife. The earliest were written at the time of their engagement, in 1904; others during two periods of enforced separation: the first in 1912, when she was a patient in a sanatorium at Davos, the second in 1913-14, when illness forced her for a whole year to live a sheltered life in Arosa. It was during her first months at Davos and after her husband's first visit there that Thomas Mann conceived the idea of a short novel, a brief satire on life in a sanatorium, which was to become, some twelve years later, his 1200-page novel, *Der Zauberberg*. The exchange of letters between the couple would now be a source of utmost interest to the student of *The Magic Mountain*, in which the setting combines the two places, Davos and Arosa. An examination of these letters from Mrs. Mann would reveal how many details from her descriptions were actually incorporated in the novel.

Finally there was the couple's complete correspondence up to the year of their emigration: until 1933, the author had gone alone on most of his numerous lecture tours both within Germany and abroad, and hardly any day went by without his reporting home. A future biographer would find invaluable material in these letters, which constitute a storehouse of biographical information of prime importance. From the moment of their self-exile, however, Thomas and Mrs. Mann were never separated again, and thus no further letters were exchanged between them.

All of the author's books and personal effects were left behind in his Munich home when he and his wife decided not to return there after a lecture tour abroad early in 1933, and most of them were subsequently lost forever. The manuscripts, however, with one or two exceptions, were entrusted to a lawyer for safekeeping, and so was the author's private archive containing his complete file of letters from his contemporaries: from Richard Dehmel and Gerhart Hauptmann, Hermann Hesse and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler, Frank Wedekind, Felix Wassermann, and many, many others. During Mann's five-year stay in Switzerland, until 1938, relations between his Munich lawyer and the author were broken off through various misunderstandings. It is not positively known where the manuscripts were kept before and during the war years, but when inquiries were made in 1945 about their whereabouts, they were reported by the lawyer as missing, presumably destroyed during an air raid. All efforts to discover them have failed to this very day. Thus far, however, no evidence of their destruction

has been furnished, and thus hope has not been abandoned altogether, at least by this writer, that one day they may turn up and be safely returned to the author's family. Only three of the larger manuscripts are safe: together with a few personal belongings, Thomas Mann took along on his lecture tour, in February 1933, the fragment of the manuscript of *Felix Krull*, which had always been close to his heart and which he was anxious to complete some day. But the manuscripts of the *Joseph* books had to remain in his study in Munich until, some months later, in spite of Gestapo surveillance, his daughter Erika succeeded in smuggling them into neutral Switzerland. By thus risking her life, she enabled her father to carry on and complete this gigantic work, begun in 1926, and preserved to the free world one of the greatest literary treasures of all times.

Little is known about other German private collections. One of them was started in 1925 by a former librarian, Miss Ida Herz,¹ a personal friend of Mrs. Mann. From the beginning she specialized in collecting early newspaper and periodical articles both by and about the author, many of which have since become extremely scarce and are to be found nowhere else. Miss Herz has been fortunate in having had the assistance of the author at a time when his works were not yet as widely collected as they are nowadays, and ever since she has added to it. Upon her emigration to Switzerland and later on to England she took along all her materials. Early in 1950 her collection was shipped across the Atlantic to be exhibited, in part, at Yale University Library, where the author was honored on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday by a unique display of first editions, manuscripts, source materials, and other documents and memorabilia.² There is a strong likelihood that the items in this collection will eventually become part of the Thomas Mann Archive in Zürich.

Another important German collection is that of Consul Herbert Rauter in Säckingen/Hochrhein. Apart from 75 autograph letters from Thomas Mann to Maximilian Harden, Georg Heimann, his brother Viktor, and other recipients, there are three of his smaller manuscripts: the essay on "Chamisso" (written in June 1911, 19½ pages), the film version of "Tristan und Isolde" (written in 1923, four pages), and "Ein Schriftstellerleben" (1924, four pages). Dr. Rauter's materials also include an almost complete set of German first editions and miscellaneous items.

During the years of Mann's first residence in Switzerland two collections were started in the United States by private initiative: one was founded by Professor Joseph W. Angell, Jr.,³ then a graduate student at Yale; the other by Miss Caroline Newton,⁴ who in 1937 had urged the

¹ 27 Pratt's Lane, London N. W. 3.

² Angell, Joseph W., Jr. "The 1950 Thomas Mann Exhibition," *Yale University Library Gazette*, 25:146-154 (April, 1951).

³ 24 Wilson Street, Montgomery, Alabama.

⁴ Daylesford, Berwyn, Penna.

author to find a new home in America and who later became one of his most loyal friends in the new world. Mr. Angell's materials formed the nucleus of what became known, in the summer of 1938, as the Yale Collection of Thomas Mann. Since that time he has given most of his items, especially his large file of autograph letters from the author, to Yale, which, in recognition of his services, appointed him Curator of the collection. For almost two decades its rank as the foremost repository of Thomas Mann documents in any research library was undisputed: from 1938 until 1956 it was the second largest collection in the world, surpassed only by that of the author himself.

On February 25, 1938, Thomas Mann delivered at Yale a Francis Bergen Lecture in Woolsey Hall, discussing the place of the artist in the contemporary world, and the same day the Library opened an exhibition of his works in the Rare Book Room set up by Mr. Angell. It was on that occasion that the author expressed his gratification at the idea of preserving this record for posterity:

"An American university," he said, "among the first in the land, establishes an archive, a library, where the labors of my solitude as they exist in the German original and in translation, in manuscripts, sketches, outlines, letters, and studies, are to be gathered and arranged in order, together with the contemporary critical expressions of opinion upon my endeavors. The purpose is to permit the friends of literature to gain insight into an intellectual workshop . . . to review a life born with the impulse to crystallize itself in word, picture, thought; to wrest the permanent from the transitory, form from chaos; and to make perceptual reality translucent for that which Goethe calls 'the life of life,' that is, for the spirit."⁵

The beginnings of the Yale Collection have been described in detail by its founder, and it seems sufficient to point out but a few of the thirty-eight manuscripts which it contained at its start: there is the famous *Briefwechsel* with the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of Bonn University, to which the author referred, in his inscription in my copy, as his "beste politische Schrift"; and there are the first two volumes of the Joseph tetralogy, which were presented in 1938 by Dr. and Mrs. Wilmarth S. Lewis and which are separated by unhappy circumstances from the final two volumes. In the course of the years other original manuscripts and typescripts in German and English, with holograph corrections, additions, and notes in the author's hand, were added thanks to the generosity of Alfred A. Knopf, Mann's American publisher, and Mrs. H. T. Lowe-Porter, his authorized English translator. In the spring of 1956 Yale acquired the complete collection of Mrs. Lowe, which had been on deposit in the Sterling Library since the spring of 1950. It consisted of typescripts of ten of Mann's larger and forty-five of his smaller works, twenty-nine holograph letters, and sixty-seven typed letters from the

⁵ Angell, Joseph W., Jr. "The Thomas Mann Collection," *Yale University Library Gazette*, 13:41-45 (October, 1938). See especially p. 45.

author to Mrs. Lowe, written between 1924 and 1948; books, periodicals, and ephemeral publications in German and English, and miscellaneous items including several hundred clippings and tear-sheets of critical materials. Finally, in the summer of 1957, Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer of Washington, D. C., donated all her letters from Mann, amounting to 265, written between 1938 and 1955, a number of inscribed first editions, and several minor manuscripts, including a 22-page autograph manuscript of "Maß und Wert," presented to her in a slipcase and imprinted: "For A. E. M."

America is fortunate in having other collections which contain original manuscripts of the author. Foremost among these is the Caroline Newton Collection, which has been systematically built up over more than twenty years and is now amazingly well-rounded and complete. Mann's works are represented in first editions autographed by the author, newspaper and periodical publications, and there are a good many items of criticism and biography as well as personal memorabilia, especially photographs of Thomas Mann and his family. Miss Newton's devotion as a collector is almost unparalleled, and the record of her friendship in the form of holograph letters from the author is an impressive one. Part of her materials were exhibited, together with Yale's manuscripts of the *Joseph* novels, in October 1956 on the occasion of "The Thomas Mann Commemoration at Bryn Mawr College": there was the holograph manuscript of "Richard Wagner und der Ring der Nibelungen," first editions, letters, photographs, and association items. For the student of Mann a few early letters written in the beginning of this century were of special interest. At present access to this collection is necessarily restricted, but Miss Newton has intimated that her materials will eventually go to a research library where they would have a curator to ensure their continued growth.

Other important collections in this country are at Harvard University, which possesses "Meerfahrt mit Don Quichote," presented by the author on November 20, 1935, and also a number of autograph letters, and in the New York Public Library, which in its Manuscript Division has the 42-page holograph manuscript of *Der zukünftige Sieg der Demokratie*, a lecture delivered in many places in the United States in the spring of 1938. Of equal importance is the Library of Congress, which in 1945 received from its famous "Consultant in German Literature" the manuscript of *Das Gesetz*. Later on the author donated the original English typescripts with autograph corrections of three lectures delivered in the Coolidge Auditorium: *Joseph and his Brethren*, *The War and the Future*, and *Nietzsche in the Light of Contemporary Events*. Finally, in 1947, the Library purchased eight letters and one postcard written by Thomas Mann between 1909 and 1928 to the German critic Julius Bab.

Of the author's various publishers, no one seems to have brought

together more of his books, periodical and newspaper publications, photographs, and letters than Alfred A. Knopf,⁶ himself a distinguished collector and a bookman *par excellence*. His collection, especially that of critical opinions expressed in American papers, is without par, and Mr. Knopf's attitude toward research students is exemplary. The same must be said of Tor Bonnier, Mann's Swedish publisher,⁷ whose archive, built up and directed by Mr. Rudolf Simonis, contains not only the most complete collection of Scandinavian translations but a vast amount of critical articles as well, in addition to a large file of personal and business letters from Thomas and Mrs. Mann. Less fortunate is the author's German publishing firm, S. Fischer.⁸ As a result of emigration and long years of exile, it appears to have lost the larger part of its archive, which must have been most impressive until the late thirties. It is only in one area of specialization that its present collection may be helpful to a researcher: two years ago Dr. Gottfried Bermann Fischer, the director of the firm, was authorized by Mrs. Mann to publish an appeal for copies of all existing Thomas Mann letters in preparation of a projected edition which he hopes to bring out in a few years. Many libraries and individuals have complied with this request, while others have refused to loan any materials, so that, when the project eventually materializes, the selection will have been based upon only a part of all the existing letters of Thomas Mann.

In my search for manuscript materials last year, research libraries in Germany seemed to me extremely poorly equipped. This, of course, was not surprising since the author had been banned by the Nazis and his works were removed from public and university libraries. In the last war German university libraries suffered irreparable losses, and it seems little short of a miracle that one small collection has remained intact: all of Thomas Mann's letters to Richard Dehmel, who was responsible for publishing his first story in a German magazine, are preserved in the Dehmel-Archive of the *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* of Hamburg.

Since the war so drastically reduced the importance of German university libraries, privately owned archives have, in several cases, become the real centers of research. Most of those relating to Thomas Mann, however, are located in Switzerland, very few in Germany. Of the collections known to have survived the Second World War in their entirety, the main one appears to be that of Dr. Hans Bürgin,⁹ founded in 1926 for the purpose of bringing together the literary production of the whole Mann family, including Heinrich and the children of Thomas Mann. It numbers about 500 books, 300 whole issues of newspapers and periodicals, some 2000 clippings arranged under various subject

⁶ 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

⁷ Sveavägen 56, Stockholm.

⁸ Falkensteinerstr. 24, Frankfurt am Main.

⁹ Mühlenstr. 11, Kappeln/Schlei.

headings, fifty autographs, and a great many photostats of periodical and newspaper articles. Though a private collection and serving its owner in his bibliographical studies, American Germanists are more than welcome if they do not mind the inconvenience of an excursion to a small town near the Danish border.

For the student of Thomas Mann it may be disappointing to learn that the author's home town of Lübeck holds but few souvenirs. The Buddenbrook House, it is true, was destroyed during an air raid in 1942 and not reconstructed until more than twelve years later. It now houses the offices of a local bank and a beauty parlor, and only a plaque of the author in the entrance hall and an inscription from the novel above the front door remind the visitor of its historic past. Farther down the same street, on Mengstraße 48, stands the Schabbel House, a patrician mansion of exquisite beauty and charm, which is now owned and run by the merchant's guild (*Kaufmannschaft*). Its president, Dr. Hans Schroeder, suggested after the author's death the creation of a "Thomas Mann-Gedächtnisraum" in this building, with manuscripts, first editions, memorabilia, and furniture from Mann's house, and a similar plan had been advanced by the City Council. Neither plan materialized, however, due to the decision of the author's family to donate his books, manuscripts, and his complete study with every single piece of furniture to the Swiss Government.

But there exist two "Thomas Mann Archives" in Germany which, although little known in their own country, should not be overlooked by the serious student. In Lübeck, former Studienrat Dr. Johannes Horstmann privately started a Thomas Mann collection in 1928. When he sold his materials in 1954, they had grown to about one hundred volumes of Mann's writings in various German and foreign editions, several photographs of the author, and hundreds of miscellaneous newspaper clippings which by now have become quite scarce. The collection, which is open to any research student, is now in the *Stadtbibliothek*.¹⁰ Finally the *Thomas Mann-Gesellschaft* in Nürnberg¹¹ has long owned a similar archive, though in recent years little has been heard of its activities.

While German libraries and private collections appear to be relatively unimportant, her southern neighbor now houses by far the majority of the author's manuscripts, closely followed by the wealth in American libraries. Not a single major manuscript is known to be in Germany. In Switzerland, on the other hand, private collectors have brought together an amazing number of unique items, and to be living in Zürich and working on Thomas Mann must inevitably result in meeting some of these Swiss enthusiasts of the author.

¹⁰ Hundestraße, Lübeck.

¹¹ Danziger Platz 25, Nürnberg.

William Matheson,¹² head of the *Vereinigung Oltner Bücherfreunde*, owns a highly select collection of "Manniana." His materials may never be donated to any library or university as he plans to have his treasures eventually sold at auction so that other private collectors may enjoy the same pleasures in acquiring these rarities which he himself had so often experienced. Georges Motschan,¹³ Swiss businessman and a personal friend of the author, has specialized in collecting documentary materials such as sound recordings, film strips, and photographs, mostly of the last years of Mann's life, which are not duplicated in any other collection. The materials of Otto Basler,¹⁴ teacher, organist, and literary critic, amounting to thousands of items and including a great many autograph letters, are neither systematically arranged nor catalogued, and for the time being not available for research. Probably the least known collection which I discovered while working in Switzerland is that of Hermann Ernst,¹⁵ which is especially strong in German first editions and scarce periodical items not available in any other archive I have seen. The *Zentralbibliothek* in Zürich owns the majority of the author's letters to his biographer Ferdinand Lion, the rest of them being in the autograph collection of a librarian, Leonhard Caffisch.¹⁶ Dr. Caffisch has urged me to point out that he will not make these items available to any researcher or publisher, at least for the present.

An important item has found its way into one of the finest private libraries in Switzerland: in November, 1948, Dr. Martin Bodmer¹⁷ acquired at an auction in Zürich the 558-page autograph manuscript of *Lotte in Weimar*, followed by a subtitle which, interestingly enough, does not appear in the printed version: "Ein kleiner Roman." This appears to be the only major manuscript of the author to be found in any private collection. The *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* does not contain other Mann items.

On the occasion of the author's eightieth anniversary, the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin¹⁸ founded, as part of its Institute for German Language and Literature, a special Thomas Mann Archive. In March, 1955, the Academy announced that the direction of this archive will be in the hands of a committee of literary historians from both parts of Germany, and two months after the author's death a few distinguished foreign Thomas Mann scholars from such countries as England, France, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States were asked to serve as curators. Mr. Erich Neumann was entrusted with the task of establishing a reliable text of Mann's writings. Neumann,

¹² Hübelistr. 27, Olten/Aarg.

¹³ Lindenhofstr. 15, Basel.

¹⁴ Burg/Aarg.

¹⁵ Ostbühlstr. 34, Zürich.

¹⁶ Drusbergstr. 18, Zürich.

¹⁷ Geneva-Cologne.

¹⁸ Jägerstr. 22-23, Berlin W. 8.

who had known the author since 1924, has long been familiar with problems of textual criticism and the "Verwilderung" of Mann's works, and in *Lotte in Weimar* alone has counted and corrected no less than 1450 misspellings. No wonder that Thomas Mann affectionately referred to him as "mein Wortgetreuer." For the Berlin archive in general, and Mr. Neumann in particular, it is somewhat unfortunate that hardly any original manuscript of the author is in its possession (except, in the Heinrich Mann Archive of the Academy, a larger number of early letters from Thomas Mann to his older brother), so that any analysis and comparison between the manuscript and the printed version is possible only by means of photostatic copies. As an ultimate goal the Archive envisages the publication of a complete historical-critical edition of everything Thomas Mann has ever written, to be prepared in close cooperation with the S. Fischer publishing house.

On August 12, 1956, the first anniversary of the author's death, a number of his Swiss friends came together in Zürich to found a *Thomas Mann Gesellschaft*.¹⁹ Dr. Max Rychner, one of the leading literary critics of Switzerland, was elected President and Dr. Martin Howard became Secretary. Admirers of Thomas Mann from all countries are welcome to apply for membership, and the Society hopes to be able not only to sponsor research projects on the author but also to send to each member special publications which it plans to bring out in due course. Almost a year before its founding, in November 1955, Mann's family had decided to donate all his literary remains, his library as well as the furniture of his study and personal memorabilia, to the Government of the Swiss Federation, which in turn agreed to establish a special Thomas Mann Archive in the Library of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zürich (E. T. H.) By that time more than one major research library was anxious to raise funds and to acquire all of these materials. The author's family, however, expressed the wish that this collection become the repository of Thomas Mann's manuscripts and the permanent center of research. The direction of this archive is in the hands of a committee composed of members of the Mann family, representatives of the *Thomas Mann Gesellschaft* in Zürich, as well as Professor Dr. Karl Schmidt, former President of the E. T. H., and Dr. Paul Scherrer, its Librarian. In October, 1956, the materials were moved from the author's last home in Kilchberg, Alte Landstraße 39, to the E. T. H., where temporary quarters were made available, consisting of an exhibition room, another room to house the author's library, and a work and study room for the library personnel who are now engaged in cataloging these materials. By the summer of 1957 a great many items had already been processed, among them all monographs, portraits, sculptures, plaques, medals struck in Mann's honor, and furniture. On the other hand, there were innumerable items such as letters, scrapbooks, memor-

¹⁹ Zinnengasse 2, Zürich.

abilia, newspaper and periodical items, and above all, the manuscripts, sketches, and drafts which had not yet been screened. Finally, although Thomas Mann himself had burned some of his diaries in his California home, a good many of them have survived and are now in sealed packages which no one has ever seen and which may not be opened until twenty years after the author's death. The large number of original manuscripts and typescripts have not yet been cataloged, but there exists an unpublished hand list for the use of the librarians which had been prepared by *cand. phil.* Bernt Richter²⁰ and which mentions the documents that were in the author's house in 1954. This list includes 247 separate holograph manuscripts and 157 typescripts not accompanied by holograph manuscripts. Among the original documents there are *Kollegnachschriften und Notizen von in München gehörten Vorlesungen, 1894-97*, 46 pages of *Notizen zum geplanten Drama über Luther*, which was never written, and a great many other items which have never as yet appeared in print. The typescripts also include most interesting materials such as the rejected sections from *Doktor Faustus*, the *Entstehungsgeschichte*, and *Die Betrogene*. The list does not refer to the larger of Mann's later works such as *Doktor Faustus*, *Der Erwählte*, *Die Betrogene*, the third and fourth volume of the *Joseph* novels, and the last chapters of *Felix Krull*, but Mrs. Mann confirms that they, too, are in the Archive of the E. T. H.²¹

In addition to these items, the Zürich Archive possesses the author's private library of more than 1,400 volumes from his Kilchberg residence, which reflects to a high degree his lifelong interests and inspirations: the works of Goethe and Schiller, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, Wagner and Luther, Tolstoy and Dostoevski, are as well represented as are the great Scandinavians, the German Romanticists, Novalis and Kleist, Fontane and Freud. There is also his library of source materials for the *Joseph* tetralogy, containing works on archaeology and Egyptology, commentaries of the *Old Testament* and the *Talmud*, pictorial histories of Palestine and Egypt, and many, many others, most of them with notes in the author's own hand. Comparing these books with Miss Ida Herz's unpublished catalogue of Mann's library in Munich, prepared in 1925, one is struck by the absence of a rather comprehensive collection of literature by and about Frederick the Great, which Thomas Mann had brought together before the First World War in preparation of a novel which he never wrote.

Close collaboration exists between the Archive in Zürich and the collection of this writer, started in the late forties with the generous assistance of Thomas Mann as a clearing house of bibliographical information. It includes, apart from his own writings in German and in English, a number of autograph letters, typescripts with autograph corrections,

²⁰ Paderborner Str. 1/IV, Berlin W. 15.

²¹ Katja Mann, Memorandum of January 28, 1958.

original unpublished photographs, and miscellaneous items. The main emphasis, however, is on biographical and critical studies without regard to language or country of origin. Near-completeness has been attempted only in the last-mentioned field of specialization as well as in bibliographical studies, including many typewritten check-lists and catalogues. The materials are fully catalogued, with indexes and cross-references, and most of the 3010 items mentioned in the bibliography of criticism²² have been assembled either in original form or in photographic reproduction. Every effort is being made to maintain up-to-date bibliographical control of the rapidly growing area of Thomas Mann research, published as well as in progress, and to be of service to fellow students and collectors. Recently an exchange of accession cards between the two collections in Zürich and Pittsburgh was initiated. Although for the time being still a private collection, it is planned that this writer's materials will eventually go to a large research library where they will become more available to other specialists.

In a survey such as this it seems appropriate to take notice, however briefly, of what is known as the Italian *Centro Thomas Mann*.²³ The name is misleading, as it suggests a center of Thomas Mann studies, whereas in reality this is an example of how the name and prestige of the author are being used for purely political purposes. Founded in February 1957 with the intention of fostering cultural relations between Italy and the Soviet Zone of Germany, it serves as a substitute for diplomatic ties between their respective governments and as an information center in political, social, and economic matters.²⁴ Signora Rosa Spina, a well known Communist, directs the Center's activities in its headquarters near the *Piazza Navona* in Rome. Among the members of this institution are leading personalities of the intellectual and cultural life of Italy.

A number of societies should be mentioned in passing which, though not sponsoring any collections, are not without interest for the student of Thomas Mann. In England W. Sternfeld²⁵ is in charge of a Thomas Mann Group, which continues the tradition of the former *Thomas Mann Gesellschaft*, founded in 1935 in Prague for the purpose of aiding German refugee writers in exile.²⁶ Finally there is a group of admirers and students of the author's work which, on October 26, 1954, founded in Potsdam a *Thomas Mann Arbeitskreis des Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands*. In addition to arranging lectures and discussions of Mann's writings, it published in 1956 an anthology entitled *Thomas Mann zum Gedenken*.

²² Jonas, Klaus W. *Fifty Years of Thomas Mann Studies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955. xxi, 217 p.

²³ Via S. Pantaleo 66, Rome.

²⁴ Schmitz van Vorst, Josef. "Das Centro Thomas Mann," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 132, June 8, 1957.

²⁵ 2 Blenheim Rd., London N. W. 8.

²⁶ Its last secretary was Rudolf Fleischmann, 199 Garstang Rd., Fulwood, Preston, England.

It is not the purpose of this article to give a complete description of all existing collections, nor has any attempt been made to go into detail regarding the location of all manuscripts of Thomas Mann. While the above-mentioned archives may be looked upon as the more prominent ones for research on Thomas Mann, other individual and institutional collectors are known to be in existence, all of whom are engaged in preserving the record of the life and literary career of one of the major authors of the western world.²⁷

²⁷ This paper was made possible by the award of the Caroline Newton Grant of Yale University.



Friedrich Bruns — Eightieth Anniversary

On June 27, 1958, Professor Emeritus Friedrich Bruns will celebrate his eightieth birthday. Professor Bruns is now residing in Palo Alto, California, at 4191 Coulombe Drive. We are pleased to report that he is well and that he still maintains an active interest in German literature, particularly in Goethe and *Faust*. His former colleagues and the staff of the *Monatshefte* join in extending hearty congratulations and in wishing him continued good health.

Professor Bruns' nephew, Mr. Carl H. Bruns, requests former students and associates of Professor Bruns who wish to write him on this occasion to send their letters to him at Suite 1135 Empire Building, 710 North Plankinton Ave., Milwaukee. He will then bind them and send the volume on to Palo Alto.

THIRTY YEAR CUMULATIVE INDEX

Volume XX (1928) to Volume XLIX (1957)

The first issue of the *Pädagogische Monatshefte* bears the date December, 1899. The full title was: *Pädagogische Monatshefte. Pedagogical Monthly. Zeitschrift für das deutschamerikanische Schulwesen. Organ des Nationalen Deutschamerikanischen Lehrerbundes*. The magazine was published in Milwaukee with Max Griebisch as editor-in-chief, a post he filled until his retirement in June, 1934. Beginning with Volume VII (1906) the name was changed to: *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik. A Monthly Devoted to the Study of German and Pedagogy. Organ des Nationalen Deutschamerikanischen Lehrerbundes*. The journal continued to appear under this title until December, 1918, when publication was suspended as a result of World War I. Publication was resumed in the form of *Jahrbücher* for the years 1920 to 1926¹ under the same name. Beginning with the January issue, 1928, the magazine once more began to appear as a monthly, under the auspices of the German Department of the University of Wisconsin, with its editorial office on the campus in Madison. At this time the title was changed to: *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht. A Journal Devoted to the Teaching of German in the Schools and Colleges of America*. In October, 1934, Robert O. Röseler succeeded Max Griebisch as editor, continuing in this capacity until his retirement in June, 1952. The current name of the Journal: *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht, deutsche Sprache und Literatur*, was adopted in February, 1946.

The earlier volumes (I to XIX, and the *Jahrbücher*) are of concern primarily to those interested in the history of German teaching in the United States. The present index covers the volumes which have appeared since the editorial office was moved to Madison in 1928.

Entries are limited to articles and to such items from *News and Notes* as seemed of more than ephemeral interest. Book reviews are not included.

With one exception, pages in each individual volume are numbered consecutively. The exception is Volume XXXVII (1945). The April-May issue of this volume, comprising a special number dedicated to M. Blakemore Evans, has its own pagination. References to this issue are indicated in the bibliography by an asterisk, thus: XXXVII (1945) 4-5*.

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¹ The last *Jahrbuch* is dated 1926 on the title page, 1927 elsewhere.

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NEWS AND NOTES

Dr. Martin Luthers Kirchenlieder in den englischen und schottischen Übersetzungen des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur anglo-deutschen Literaturbeziehung.

Der Leser des 20. Jahrhunderts ist daran gewöhnt, daß für die Gegenwart bemerkenswerte Werke der fremdsprachigen Literatur kurz nach der Veröffentlichung im Heimatland des Dichters bereits in Übersetzungen im Ausland vorliegen. Um so größer ist die Überraschung, wenn wir erfahren, daß dieses Phänomen – wenn auch nur im beschränkten Maße – für eine Epoche Gültigkeit hat, die 400 Jahre zurückliegt.

Der deutsche Reformator und Bibelübersetzer Dr. Martin Luther schrieb 37 Kirchenlieder, von denen bereits 22 im 16. Jahrhundert Aufnahme auf den Britischen Inseln fanden. Einige dieser 22 Lieder wurden mehr als einmal übersetzt, so daß 32 englische und schottische Übertragungen auf uns gekommen sind. Den Hauptanteil an den Übersetzungen hat der englische Bibelübersetzer Bischof Miles Coverdale (1488-1568) mit 17 Liedern; ihm folgen der Schotte John Wedderburn (1500?-1557) mit zwölf und die beiden Engländer Robert Wisdom (?-1568) und Richard Cox (1500-1581) mit zwei bzw. einem Lied.

Der Vergleich der Übertragungen mit den deutschen Originalen stellt beträchtliche inhaltliche Abweichungen von Luther heraus, die hauptsächlich auf eine andere Sicht der Reformation, des Menschen und des Geistes der neuen Religion und auf eine andere Einstellung zu Gott hinauslaufen. Die Abweichungen ergeben sich in erster Linie dadurch, daß sich in den Wiedergaben Lutherische und Calvinistische Elemente mischen. Das Calvinistische Element tritt besonders stark bei dem Schotten Wedderburn hervor. Er ist verbissener in der Kampfansage an die alte Religion, den Katholizismus, geht mit Welt und Mensch schärfer ins Gericht, was sich in der stärkeren Betonung der Sündenverdammnis zeigt, und verehrt in Gott den absoluten Herrscher. Coverdale steht Luther näher. Charakteristisch für ihn ist eine tiefe Güte und Nachsicht gegenüber der von Welt und Sünde bedrohten menschlichen Kreatur. Gott ist bei ihm in erster Linie der gütige und vergebende Vater und nicht der strenge Herr wie bei Wedderburn.

Aber auch die Untersuchung der sprachlichen Form hat wesentliche Unterschiede zu Luther festgestellt. Wedderburn wirkt abstrakter als Luther (und Coverdale). Sein Wortschatz ist größer, sein Ausdruck gewählter, seine Sprache feierlicher. Coverdales Texte hingegen weisen mehr Konkreta und Adjektiva auf. Eine Fülle von bildhaften und anschaulichen Ausdrücken und Wendungen gibt ihnen Leben und Wärme. Alle diese Vorzüge können aber nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß Coverdale im Ausdruck ungeschickter und steifer ist als Wedderburn. Bemerkenswert sind in diesem Zusammenhang seine vielen versfüllenden Zusätze, die zuweilen verstärkend wirken, aber im wesentlichen unbeholfen sind. Das Ergebnis der Behandlung der Possessivpronomina rechtfertigt die bei den inhaltlichen Abweichungen von Luther festge-

stellte Tatsache, daß sogar der Calvinistische Glaube an den materiellen Besitz als Zeichen der persönlichen Erwählung in den Übertragungen (vor allem bei Wedderburn) zum Ausdruck kommt. Die Untersuchung des Satzbaus zeigt das besonders bei Coverdale starke Bemühen zu vereinfachen und zu verdeutlichen, dasselbe Bemühen, wie es sich schon beim Wortschatz heraushob.

Die gleiche Tendenz zur Vereinfachung ist auch in der Wiedergabe der metrischen Form zu spüren. Häufiger als bei Luther tritt bei den Übersetzern der vierhebige Jambus auf. Dadurch, daß Wedderburns Übertragungen rhythmischer als die der anderen sind, besser reimen und bedeutend mehr Alliterationen aufweisen, wirken sie geschickter und eleganter. Überhaupt ist es im wesentlichen die Eleganz, die Wedderburn von den anderen Übersetzern unterscheidet.

Wisdom kommt in seinen Übersetzungen Coverdale sehr nahe, während Cox Ähnlichkeiten mit Wedderburn aufweist.

In England wurde Luthers schönstes Lied „Ein feste Burg“ durch Thomas Carlyle sehr bekannt und in den U. S. A. durch den Harvard-Professor Frederic Henry Hedge (1805-1890), der sich um die deutsche Literatur verdient gemacht hat. Die älteste Übersetzung dieses Liedes, dessen erste Strophe im Original und in Coverdales Wiedergabe im folgenden zur Veranschaulichung der obigen Ausführungen abgedruckt ist, wird wie alle Übertragungen des 16. Jahrhunderts heute nicht mehr gesungen.

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,
Ein gute Wehr und Waffen.
Er hilft uns frei aus aller Not,
Die uns jetzt hat betroffen.
Der alt böse Feind
Mit Ernst ers jetzt meint,
Groß Macht und viel List
Sein grausam Rüstung ist,
Auf Erd ist nicht seinsgleichen.

.....
OURE God is a defence and towre,
A good armoure and good weapē;
He hath been ever oure helpe and sucoure,
In all the troubles that we have ben in.
Therefore wyl we never drede,
For any wonderous dede
By water or by londe,
In hilles or the see sode;
Our God hath them al in his hōd.

Literatur: Martin Luther, *Werke*, kritische Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 35, (Weimar 1923). Miles Coverdale, *Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs*, hrsg. von George Pearson in *Remains of Myles Coverdale* (= The Parker Society) (Cambridge 1846). John Wedderburn, *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, hrsg. von A. F. Mitchell (= The Scottish Text Society) (Edinburgh and London 1897). Robert Wisdom and Richard Cox, *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others* (London 1640). Robert Wisdom, *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A. D. 1635*, hrsg. von Neil Livingston (Glasgow 1864). Kurt Reckmann, *Die englischen und schottischen Übertragungen der Kirchenlieder Luthers im 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen 1956).

Göttingen.

—Kurt Reckmann

BOOK REVIEWS

Rudolf Borchardt, Gedichte. Band 3 der Borchardt-Ausgabe.

Hrsg. von M. L. Borchardt und H. Steiner, mit einem Geleitwort von R. A. Schröder. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1957. 950 Seiten.

Dieser erstaunlich dicke Band faßt die drei vom Dichter selbst herausgegebenen Gedichtbände *Jugendgedichte*, *Vermischte Gedichte* und *Die Schöpfung aus Liebe* zusammen, gibt einen *Nachtrag zu den Jugendgedichten* und fügt die reiche Reihe der noch nie gesammelten *Späten Gedichte* hinzu. Daran schließen sich die poetischen Erzählungen (*Das Buch Joram*, *Die Beichte Bocchino Belfortis*, *Der Durant*, *Die halbgerettete Seele*, *Der ruhende Herakles*); willkommene bibliographische Anmerkungen und das schöne Schrödersche Gedenkwort beschließen den Band.

Der unbefangene Leser wird diesem zum erstenmal dargebotenen dichterischen Gesamtwerk gegenüber zunächst stutzig werden: er sieht Oden, Sonette, Sestinen, Hexameter, Wolframvers, eine *Heroische Elegie* in Stanzen, eine *Melodische Elegie* in Terzinen, eine *Pathetische Elegie* in Distichen und dazwischen allerlei Strophisches, das sich manchmal als volkstümlich ausbildet. Ist es Dichtung oder Poetik? Ist es das eklektische, wortreiche, schmückende Rankenwerk der Dichtung um 1900? Aber dann wird er beim Blättern auf die schon ganz gültig gewordenen, unvergeßlichen Gedichte stoßen, die schon im ewigen Bereich unverrückbar stehen: *Trauriger Besuch*, *Herzbruder*, *Ja und Nein*, *Verglichener Streit*, *Tagelied*, *An den Heros*, *Mit den Schuhen*. Auf der Suche nach anderen Gedichten, die er dieser Reihe zufügen möchte, wird er der vielfältigen Töne der *Jugendgedichte* inne, in denen sich eine schwermütige Leidenschaft kühngebändigdt äußert, immer knapp, auch im langen Gedicht. In den *Vermischten Gedichten* wird er die große Einheit in der Spannung zwischen dem *Mann und der Liebe*, zwischen Rausch und Klarheit, zwischen Erleben und Erlebnishinwirkung finden. Und er wird auf das lange Gedicht *Wannsee* stoßen, das er als eine der großen deutschen Elegien seiner anwachsenden Anthologie einverleiben muß. Hier ist ein echtes Lebensgedicht, ein Rückblick auf die eigene Jugend und ihre Bildungsmächte in echt Borchardtscher Verquickung von Hymnik und Betrachtung, bekenntnistrunken ohne formlos zu werden, ein modernes Seitenstück zu Goethes *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* und Brentanos *Rückblick* auf seine Kinderjahre. Überhaupt wird man in Borchardt vor allem den Elegiker erkennen. Dichterisch-lyrisch geht er als ein Abschiednehmender durchs Leben, ein Verzichtender und radikal Abgewandter, der nur zuweilen aufblickt, um durch anrufende Huldigung sich und seine Welt bekennerisch zu bestätigen (an Hofmannsthal, Schröder, Beer-Hofmann, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Swinburne) oder um mit ernster Anmut sein ganzes Geschick in die Hände der geliebten Frau zu legen (*Die Schöpfung aus Liebe*). Mit dieser radikalen zeitverdammenden Elegie steht der scheinbar so Rückgewandte Valéry, George und Benn verwandtschaftlich nahe. Wie bei ihnen ver-

bindet sich hier eine fast mathematische Hellsichtigkeit mit trunkener Selbstaufgabe. Aus den *Späten Gedichten* strömen der Anthologie weitere Lebenslieder zu, etwa das *Lichterblickungslied*, *Urlaub*, *Epiphanias*, *Tiefe Nacht*. Immer, von Anfang bis ganz zum Ende, bleibt die Stimme unverkennbar. Scheinbar spröde Versmaße füllt er mit leichter Grazie, scheinbar einfache, sangbare Rhythmen versteinen unter seiner harten Hand. Er ist der Meister der Variation, deren Gesetze er alle kennt und anwendet. Fast nie ein Schwelgen: ein in der Natur gefundener Gegenstand, eine tote Schwalbe, eine Kastanie, wird im raschesten Übergang vom Natur- zum Kunst Ding; aus Zufall wird Bekenntnis, die gelöste Stimmung schlägt in Verantwortung um. Nein, dies ist kein bequemes Formenspiel. Borchardt ist im Gedicht genau so unnachgiebig und monomanisch wie im Essay. Beinahe jedes Gedicht wird zunächst einmal als Hürde aufgerichtet, über die es dann hinwegzudichten gilt. Das gelingt nicht immer.

Es bleiben weitere Überraschungen. Der im Jahre 1904 entstandene und 1920 veröffentlichte *Durant*, diese wichtigste Jugenddichtung, in der im Parzival-Versmaß eine eigene seelische Situation „verhüllt“ dargestellt wurde, ist ein Fragment. Im Nachlaß fanden sich nun an die 1400 Verse, die dieser Dichtung angehören, aber vom Dichter nie veröffentlicht wurden. Dieses Einschießel hat nicht immer die Dichte der bekanntgewordenen Verse. Oft, scheint es, wird die Sprache ihrer Gekonntheit froh und fängt an zu wuchern. Aber die große Eingangsstelle ist ganz auf der Höhe des Gedichts und fügt dem Lebenswerk ein neues echtes Bekenntnis hinzu. Gleich der Anfang:

Herz, vermöchtest du das!
Und wird, da ich dies dichte,
Der Mut dir nicht zunichte . . .

spricht es aus, daß des Durantens Geschichte die des Dichters selber ist. Diese Verse leiten zu der großen Anrufung Wolframs über, in der der Parzivaldichter als das einzige gewaltige Vorbild gepriesen, als Dichter im Ganzen und als Parzivalsänger dargestellt und gedeutet wird. Und das in einer Sprache, die es einem plötzlich klarmacht, das man noch nie einen neuhochdeutschen Wolfram gehört hatte, da alle Übersetzungen ihn bisher glättend verdeckten. Hier, wie im ganzen *Durant*, ist Wolfram aus seinem eigenen Sprachraum her erkannt, beschworen und groß und klar vor einen hingestellt. Diese 103 Verse gehören zum Schönsten.

Noch viele andere Entdeckungen werden dem Leser gelingen. Es sei mit diesen Andeutungen genug. Man steht einem konsequenten Lebenswerk gegenüber, das sich zum erstenmal in seinen ganzen Umrissen abzeichnet.

University of Wisconsin.

—Werner Vordtriede

The "Island Motif" in the Prose Works of Ernst Wiechert.

By Marianne R. Jetter. Vancouver, B. C.: Continental Book Centre, 1957. 96 pp. Price: \$2.00.

This is a hard book to pick a specific quarrel with for two reasons. First, Miss Jetter gives the island motif only infrequent, allusive treat-

ment; her actual topic is the theme of isolation, which may explain why the words "island motif" are enclosed in quotes whenever they appear. Second, neither the island nor the theme of isolation comes under really close critical scrutiny. The monograph contains a rather long biographical sketch followed by a series of plot and episode summaries interspersed with general remarks which formulate the world-view implied — "Goodness of character conquers wickedness by its mere existence" (p. 59) — or place the work in question under an appropriate heading.

In this way Miss Jetter supports the thesis that "Wiechert's yearning for solitude represents not only the central conflict of his life but also of his books. And since this theme of the isolated individual finding his true mission in the world is found in practically all of Wiechert's prose works as the underlying thought, it is important to note the stages of its development . . ." (p. 16). There are six of these stages: the island as (1) escape, (2) possible maturing ground, (3) the only maturing place, (4) source of the unconscious effort to help others, (5) source of the conscious effort to help others, and (6) the island — a perfect service to mankind. Miss Jetter's accomplishment is to locate just about every one of Wiechert's narratives somewhere on this scale. The order is supposed to be chronological, to judge by remarks in the text, but Miss Jetter runs into trouble in applying the system. One wonders why, for instance, "Der silberne Wagen" (written 1926), in which the hero finds himself alienated from the forest world of his youth and flees back to his urban island, is included in the second group, whereas "Regina Amstetten" (written 1931), where a woman clearly matures in her isolation, is placed in the first. Also, for the sake of the categories, ambiguities are ignored, and some narratives become distorted in analysis. For example, does the gloomy end of "Die Flucht ins Ewige" really present the symbolization of "regeneration, individual and universal" (p. 39)? Or does it show an expulsion from paradise into the realm of death? And are we to believe the assurance that Thomas von Orla "achieves a 'fröhliches Herz'" (p. 70) when Wiechert writes on the last page of *Das einfache Leben*: "Und einmal auch, viel später, würde man vielleicht meinen können, daß man ein fröhliches Herz besitze"?

Miss Jetter seems often to be reaffirming Wiechert's statements about his own life and works. There is sufficient precedent for this sort of uncritical contribution to the Wiechert legend. Yet pertinent articles have been published which arrive at quite different conclusions. It would have made for a more telling book to take these into account and to rely more heavily on textual interpretation instead of listening to "hear Wiechert's own distressed soul cry out" (p. 34). The monograph is summed up quite accurately with the "conviction that Ernst Wiechert was anxious to show his readers how modern man can lead a life both more meaningful to himself and to others" (p. 88). The question still remains: what did he really show?

University of California at Riverside.

—Edson M. Chick

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